256 402 433 434 ($9 every few weeks) is also an item not included. Some engines are equipped to saw wood, when not driving mills; pine logs are cut in lengths suitable for splitting into box lumber. The blocks are shipped in trucks to Uruapan, where they are split to make crates for shipping fruit. No data on costs or sales were secured on this minor business.

305 434 *Barbers:*

Prices:

Haircuts:	
Weekdays	$0.15
Sundays	.20
Shaves	.10–.15
Number of "jobs" daily:	
Except Saturday	4–8
Saturday	10–15
Income (a week)	$6.00–$7.50

Comment: Average income is probably under $1.00 a day. One of the two full-time barbers (with the smallest income) supplements this by card playing. One barber works only on Sundays and makes shakes during the week.

533 434 *Musicians:*

Wages:

For 2-day fiesta	$10
For wedding	2
Number of engagements (individual cases):	
(a) 6 fiestas, 15 weddings, in 9 months	90
(b) 5 fiestas, 5 weddings, period unknown	60
(c) 10 fiestas in 1 year	100

Comment: The musicians obviously do not make a living from music. All have other sources of income; some are farmers, storekeepers, barbers, etc.

338 434 *Painters, plasterers:*

Daily wage	$1.75–2.50

Comment: Painters and plasterers have only occasional demands for their skills. Only a few stone or adobe houses are plastered, and fewer still are painted. Most jobs are by contract.

529 433 434 *Billiard parlors:*

Equipment	$1,500–$1,700
Rent (monthly)	10–20
Charge per game	.05

Comment: No estimate of the amount of business was received. It is evident, though, that the enterprise is profitable, to judge by dress and other characteristics of the owners.

253 433 434 *Butchers:*

Prices paid for beeves on hoof	$80–$150
Prices reported paid at wholesale for beef weighing:	

527 624 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates [389] were that the main *castillo* would cost $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 624 533 The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 624 533 pay the musicians, these might be employed to help pay for the meals. Usually the commissioner and his assistants were each responsible for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 624 535 One commissioner for the moros is named from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and does not collect money, paying the entire expense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her husband. No one believed her, but nothing [558] could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 624 358 The four commissioners for the bull ring are all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about midnight and was rung intermittently all the 796 rest of the night. Early in the morning there was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass. [793] These were performed by the priest as part of his duties and were not the special Masses paid for by the town. About noon a few members of the Cherán band gathered in front of the priest's house and played for a time, continuing intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza, although the main market day would not be [443] until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing, cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles, dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga style were added to those already present. A [265] gambling game was set up. The booths for [275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on [548] this day. Comments implied that the girls running the booths were all prostitutes, but all the booths were completely open. In any case, the booths are the center for most of the drunkards and most of the fights and disorder associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this day also, the church was cleaned up and decorated. A few began working at the bull ring, digging up old posts and clearing away weeds, while others transported new posts and logs from the various *barrios*.

All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of [443] them merely located their space and unpacked their animals, but did not unpack their goods (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round [529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*, while a smaller one was placed on one of the side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the commissioners and their assistants went to the 533 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark, when one of the most violent thunderstorms anyone could remember deluged the party. It was said there were no ceremonies of greeting ordinarily and that the commissioners merely greeted their band and led it to one of the houses for supper. Certainly, there were no ceremonies that night.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players
on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
[534] double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger
stops) played in unison, accompanied by a
drum. They played for some time in the arcade
before the municipal building. The shrill
music, played with great verve and noise,
seemed vaguely familiar and finally became
recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It
remained the favorite and almost only piece
played by the *chirimía* band throughout the
fiesta.

527 Sunday the market was in full operation, and
the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed
with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only
[443] were most of the residents of Cherán on the
[323] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
chases (this is the only time of the year that
pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but
there were hundreds of visitors. The bands
played early in the morning. The young men
were busy working on the bull ring.

[796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10
o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on
535 horseback, followed in a short time by the
other two. They rode slowly around the plaza,
followed by one of the bands. After a short
time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
[574] Many people invited guests home to eat with
them at this time, often issuing invitations well
in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be
invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3
o'clock the moros returned and sat on their
horses in the plaza in front of the church while
the bands played. The moros then went to the
municipio, dismounted, and danced in front of
the building. Remounting, they returned to
the church and danced in front of the church.
Many people were openly critical of them for
not dancing first in front of the church. After
the performance in front of the church, the
dancers went on foot down the main street,
dancing in front of various stores until about
[542] 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
the afternoon a basketball game was played
between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little
interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
389 various volunteers working under the direction of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by
[686] any means. The fireworks maker is always held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

527 Monday morning the market continued. The
533 first band appeared and began to play about 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner.

[541] About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

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527 town and were waiting both for the proper
533 time and for the last finishing touches to be put
[541] on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

527 The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This
541 was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The moros followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the moros departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

342 always assisted by various relatives, who also put pressure on him to hold the event. For 574 the Chávez fiesta one of the wife's cousins provided the music. A relative of the husband [602] provided atole; other relatives of the husband supplied *charanda* or *aguardiente*, as did one of the *compadres* of the husband.

A day or two before the fiesta, the house owner gives cigarettes and matches to the master carpenter. The latter offers cigarettes to various relatives and *compadres* who agree to come and help with the roofing. During the actual work, the relatives of the house owner hand up shakes and nails to the workmen but do not put any shakes in place. The shakes [335] are put in place and nailed by the master carpenter and his relatives and *compadres*.

In the morning of the house-roofing day, two *cohetes* are fired to notify people that the fiesta is to take place. The guests assemble in the late forenoon. The men go to work at the [602] roofing; the wife's female relatives assist in the cooking. When the roofing is nearly finished, *charanda* is circulated among the workmen. The women also make an arch with flowers. This is placed over a cross placed on the ridge pole when the roof is finished. The relatives and helpers now eat, the men eating first. *Compadres* of the husband assist in the serving, the host merely supervising. The men sit on two long logs, and baskets of tortillas, dishes of salt, baskets of tamales, and jars of water are placed on the ground between the two logs. Each man is served a bowl of *curípo*, beef stew with cabbage and chile (pl. 7, upper left). After the men have finished, the small boys are fed in the same way. The women eat in the part of the yard where cooking is going on.

After the meal was over in the fiesta ob- [533] served, the musicians (a stringed orchestra) arrived. They should have arrived before the meal, but the cellist was sick and it was necessary to send to Nahuatzen for another, who was late in arriving. The musicians are served before they begin to play. The women relatives of the host now bring fruit, which they present to the female relatives of the wife. Everyone is then served a bowl of black atole and a piece of bread. The female relatives of the master carpenter now arrive. They are seated on a mat near the space cleared for dancing,

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535 796 all directions, they resembled some impossible bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either sondado uaran or turi¢auarani. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed [534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

● 533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

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533 also play for some civic events, such as the installation of new officers, for which they receive no pay.

In addition to the organized bands, there are smaller and less well organized groups of musicians, mainly performers on stringed instruments such as violin, violincello, bass fiddle, and guitar, although a clarinetist may be included. Such groups meet and play together at one another's houses for their own pleasure. At times, however, they may be hired for *mayordomías* or household fiestas, especially if the sponsor cannot afford a full band. Such groups may also be asked to play at some public function. In 1940 one such group was asked by the mayor to play in the school in connection with the final oral examinations and closing exercises.

WITCHCRAFT

754 For many miles around, Cherán has the reputation of being the outstanding center for witchcraft among the Tarascans. As is often the case, however, it was extremely difficult to secure any information about witchcraft in the town. Enough was secured, however, and enough significant evasions encountered, to make it likely that the reputation is deserved. Even by the informants and assistants on the study, concealment was practiced, and at the very end of the study some data were obtained virtually by accident from Agustín, our United States born helper, which he obviously told with great reluctance.

Witches, sʌkuájpiri, are believed always to be women. In general, the name of witch is applied to all "women of the street," that is, women who live without men. Generally, these are either aged women without relatives or women, usually widows, who are believed to be prostitutes. No one would dare do anything against such women. Although these women may live in any part of the town, there is evidence that they are believed to live more in *barrio* I on the slopes of Santiákujákua, the hill on the northwest corner of the town. This hill is said to be full of witches and to be a very dangerous spot to go to at night. Passing along one of the uppermost streets on the hill one day, we were asked for a coin by an old woman. Agustín R. refused to let me give a coin and

517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the har-
monica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

517 Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

517 Some men like gambling for small sums.
525 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized
[276] primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5 men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

291 Tastes are fixed even in some matters of dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

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796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

[515] On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes bathe early in the morning. The youths pro-
[533] vide musicians, who play while the girls are bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback
[526] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

535 On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers
796 dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of curípo and kurúndas. The fiesta is called tzíndakua.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and
[533] girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

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CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their performance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

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their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a rewarding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons. It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urbanized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanancha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but apparently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it had in early Colonial days.

The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is celebrated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoacán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday has three main functions: commercial; religious and recreational. In 1948, the year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people because they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the present parish priest was in residence.

But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example, each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same specialized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

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beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

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well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.

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The Town's 2 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
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The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

2 (i.e., Paracho -- Analyst)